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STATEMENT OF JOE HOLSINGER

ADMIN. ASST. TO THE LATE REP. LEO J. RYAN

to

INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

of

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

at

GUYANA TRAGEDY HEARING

[redacted] FEBRUARY 20, 1980

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I would like to express my appreciation to Chairman Fascell for convening these oversight hearings. I know that Leo Ryan had the highest personal regard for Mr. Fascell. He considered him to be his mentor on this committee and his friend.

I also want to thank Rep. Bill Royer for his role in pressing for these hearings. His efforts have earned him the respect of everyone who was touched by the tragedy in Guyana in November, 1978. It is an irony of fate that this subcommittee is one on which Leo Ryan served and worked closely with members who are here today.

The conduct of this open Congressional hearing can help to determine if our government withheld vital information from Rep. Leo Ryan, and if his death and the death of over 900 persons could have been averted.

Leo went to Guyana in a last ditch effort to determine the validity of serious charges made about Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple in Jonestown. Rep. Ryan had received detailed allegations that at least some of the more than 900 Americans there were being held against their will under brutal, inhuman circumstances. He would not have led a Congressional delegation there if the facts could have been determined any other way.

Rep. Royer's office has informed me that the purpose of these oversight hearings is "to determine what the State Department has done to implement the recommendations contained in the Foreign Affairs Committee staff report and the State Department report on the performance of the State Department in the Jonestown matter".

The recommendations appear to be useful and, if implemented properly, they should improve the quality of State Department performance overseas. One of the most difficult areas is that of review of exemption provisions under the Privacy Act and the Freedom of Information Act. It is clear that the Privacy Act was interpreted by the State Department to deny Representative Ryan access to pertinent information concerning Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple in Guyana.

It is also clear that the Freedom of Information Act was interpreted by State Department personnel in such a way as to provide complete access to Jim Jones about inquiries or actions concerning Jones and the Peoples Temple. Our experience in the Ryan office in that regard is detailed in the attached news story in the San Mateo Times of 12/6/78, "Somehow the Word Would Get to Peoples Temple" (Exhibit A). That free flow of information to Jones from the State Department, and the reasons for it, have never been properly addressed. Was it de-facto State Department policy or was it the work of a few key officials with close ties to Jim Jones?

A major issue that has escaped scrutiny is the emphasis placed by the State Department on promoting American Commercial interests overseas as its first priority, to the detriment of the problems of individual U.S. citizens abroad. That issue was raised by Rep. Paul McCloskey in an interview published in the San Mateo Times on 12/8/78, "McCloskey Slams State Department (Exhibit B).

The following is an excerpt from that news story:

> "A congressional investigation of the Jonestown massacre is likely to show that the U.S. State Department was more concerned with promoting

exportation of natural resources from Guyana than exposing injustices within Peoples Temple or protecting Americans visiting that country, Rep. Paul McCloskey told The Times Thursday.

The Republican congressman from Menlo Park who had worked with his slain colleague, Rep. Leo J. Ryan, for State Department intervention in the Jonestown commune, stated:

"I think an investigation will bring out that the Guyanese government had a relationship with (the Rev. Jim) Jones and that the U.S. Embassy (in Georgetown) knew about it, accepted it and didn't try to intrude.

"Based on my dealings with the State Department, I think it is apparent that the department was more concerned with getting along with the Guyanese...and promoting exports from that country than it was in protecting U.S. Citizens."

The most important mineral resources in Guyana are bauxite and manganese. Gold and diamonds also are mined. Bauxite is the principal source of aluminum.

McCloskey said it is the "inherent mission" of all U.S. embassies, as representatives of the president, to place more emphasis on maintaining

> an amiable relationship with a host country and promoting exports than looking after the interests of citizens abroad.
>
> He said it is his hope that the investigation will result in an order by the House International Relations Committee that embassies take a "stronger position" on the well-being of Americans."

I find nothing in the State Department recommendations that remotely touches on this matter.

One of the State Department recommendations most pertinent to the Guyana tragedy was Item G (1) which stated:

> "G. The Department should strengthen its support for Congressional delegations travelling overseas. We endorse the current efforts of the Department to provide: (1) more definitive threat assessments in areas to be visited by Congressional groups;"

Threat assessments, to be effective, must necessarily include current intelligence data from the area involved. The question is whether the results of such intelligence data will be shared with Congressional delegations or withheld from them. The record shows that no such intelligence data was made available to Leo Ryan concerning Guyana. In fact, the State Department denied knowledge of any intelligence data concerning the Peoples Temple in Guyana in its report of 12/13/78 from Douglas Bennet, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, to Rep. Clement Zablocki, Chairman of the International Relations Committee. Question #8 from Chairman Zablocki asked:

"Were the activities of the Peoples' Temple Church investigated by the FBI and/or other U.S. Government agencies and, if so, were their findings made available to the Department of State?"

The State Department response was:

"The Department of Justice has informed the Department that it conducted no investigations of the Peoples' Temple prior to the death of Congressman Ryan. We have been informed that the Federal Communications Commission investigated use of amateur radio stations by the Peoples' Temple to determine whether that use violated the Federal Communications Act of 1934.

The Department is unaware of any other investigations that may have been conducted by other U.S. Government agencies of the Peoples' Temple or its activities other than the single report of the Customs investigation noted in our response to Question 7 above."

That response can be true only if you believe that U.S. government intelligence operations in Guyana were completely shielded from the State Department. Our government did have an intelligence presence in Guyana prior to Leo Ryan's trip there. I know that an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency witnessed his death. On the afternoon of November 18, 1978, I received two phone calls in California from Washington, D.C. The first was from the Carribbean Desk at the State Department. I had been in

touch with them several times that day because of my concern over Leo's presence at Jonestown and the potential danger there.

The State Department caller told me that they had just received a report from the American Embassy in Georgetown of a shooting incident at the Port Kaituma airstrip. The report said that three people had been killed and fifteen wounded, and that Rep. Ryan may have been one of those killed.

Within fifteen minutes, I had a second phone call, this time from a member of the White House staff whom I know personally. He told me that five people had been killed, including Leo. When I said that his information differed from that which I just received from the State Department, he responded, "Joe, our information is correct. We have a CIA report from the scene".

The White House aide then asked my assistance in identifying the other four persons by describing their roles. Because of my familiarity with the mission, I was able to identify Don Harris and the TV newscaster, Bob Brown as the TV cameraman and Greg Robinson as the still photographer.

Since a CIA agent was present at the assassination of Congressman Ryan, it seems reasonable to assume that our government had received prior reports on the Peoples Temple.

Further confirmation of CIA activities in Guyana are contained in a San Mateo Times news story of 12/14/79, "CIA Agent Witnessed Jonestown Mass Suicide" (Exhibit C). I have

been informed that House rules forbid specific charges against named individuals in open session, but I am ready to discuss such charges against more than one individual in Executive Session if this Committee chooses to hear them.

I believe that the tragic consequences of withholding intelligence data from Leo Ryan in Guyana should serve as a warning to all future Congressional delegations abroad. Unless the Congress insists on the inclusion of such data in State Department threat assessments, the ability of Congress to fulfill its fact-finding and investigative responsibilities will be at the mercy of the Executive Branch of the government.

It also appears that existing law may have been broken by the Central Intelligence Agency in failing to report to the appropriate Committees in Congress on its covert activities in Guyana. In December of 1974, as an amendment to the Foreign Aid Act, Congress approved a provision sponsored by Harold Hughes of Iowa in the Senate and by Leo Ryan of California in the House. This is what it said:

> "No funds appropriated under the authority of this or any other act may be expended by or on behalf of the CIA for operations in foreign countries, other than activities intended solely for obtaining necessary intelligence, unless and until the president finds that each such operation is important to the national security and reports, in a timely fashion, a description and scope of such operation to the appropriate committees of the Congress.'

The CIA did have an operation in Guyana, in addition to the obtaining of necessary intelligence. That operation was specifically designed to support the government of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, and there are credible reports that it included covert support for Jim Jones as an ally of Forbes Burnham. Specifically, the Peoples' Temple provided funds to the Burnham group and also acted as a terrorist organization to intimidate the opponenents of the Burnham regime. And the Burnham government was cooperative with our commercial interests and with the policy of the U.S. State Department in promoting the exportation of natural resources from Guyana.

It seems almost certain now that our intelligence sources were aware that charges that American citizens were being held in bondage were true, and that they allowed that condition to continue in the interests of their mission. They also withheld that information from members of Congress, including Leo Ryan, and from desperate relatives who pleaded for government assistance for their loved ones. The Department of State consistently reassured such relatives that all was well at Jonestown. A typical example is the State Department response of 6/16/78 to Sherwin Harris of Lafayette, California (Exhibit D).

By the time that Leo Ryan led the Congressional delagation to Guyana in November, 1978, the difficult question posed for our government was whether or not it should admit to Ryan that:

1. A covert intelligence operation existed in Guyana that had not been reported to appropriate committees in Congress as required by law;

2. American citizens were being held in Jonestown against their will;
3. Our government was using Jim Jones as an ally of the Burnham government to maintain its control of Guyana.

Someone,or some group, made the decision to "stonewall" the Ryan delegation. That was a fatal mistake, although at the time it must have appeared that Leo's mission would fail since it was obvious that neither our government, the government of Guyana nor Jim Jones wanted him in Guyana, or especially in Jonestown. Under those circumstances, it appeared very unlikely that one lone Congressman would be able to "kick down the doors", to use one of Leo's pet phrases. On the other hand, it was likely that if Leo Ryan had been given intelligence data indicating that American citizens were being held against their will under brutal circumstances, he would have used that information with the appropriate committee in Congress to force our government to free those people. Leo would not have had to go to Guyana. And all those deaths would have been averted.

News accounts from Georgetown at the time of the Ryan mission there said that Leo was winning the media or public-opinion battle against Jim Jones. Before Leo's departure for Guyana, he and I discussed his plan to go up to the gates of Jonestown, in the presence of the media, and request permission to enter. If such permission were refused, Leo would then return to Congress with proof that Jonestown was a closed settlement. If he was allowed to enter, he intended to assess the situation there fairly, but to insist on talking alone to specific people and to personally

escort any one out who wished to leave.

When it became obvious that Leo Ryan was going to Jonestown even without prior agreement by Jim Jones, our government had its last chance to disclose the true nature of the situation there to Leo. Someone decided at this juncture to take the chance that Jones would be able to put on a show that would convince the Ryan group that all was well in Jonestown. It seems incredible to me that our government, knowing what it did about the situation inside Jonestown and the potential for violence there, would take that chance. It is a terribly harsh question to ask, but is it possible that even the terrible tragedy that occurred was preferred over disclosure of our covert operation in Guyana?

In reviewing the adequacy of the recommendations from the State Department, the most significant omission is that of the presence of CIA personnel in key roles within the State Department. Their existence is known to our allies and to our potential enemies alike. It is a secret only from the American public. I believe that the CIA serves a vital and essential purpose in our national interest. I also understand that its personnel operate under orders from the National Security Agency and the President. Their work is often dangerous and they must be protected. It may be necessary under some circumstances for CIA personnel to use the cover of the State Department employees. However, such usage should be kept to an absolute minimum since it can obviously create radical mutations in policy and endanger the lives of American citizens abroad unless great care is taken.

If, as seems probable, our State Department policy towards the Peoples Temple and Guyana was dominated by the

CIA operation there, the Department's laxness and indifference to petitions and complaints from refugees (or defectors) and from concerned relatives becomes more understandable. Some of the major petitions and affidavits which were ignored or "lost" included:

1. The Concerned Relatives' petition of May 10, 1978 to the Secretary of State; which included sworn notarized affidavits concerning the abuse of human rights by Jones.

2. The April 10, 1978 affidavit of Yolanda D.A. Crawford, a People's Temple defector, describing beatings and abuses in Jonestown.

3. The affidavits of May and June, 1978, by Debbie Blakey describing suicide rehearsals and other serious charges.

The State Department's response of June 26, 1978, to Ambassador Burke's telegram of June 6, 1978, was a clear rejection of Burke's request for permission to discuss the Jonestown situation with the Government of Guyana. It seems quite possible, in retrospect, that this rejection was influenced by intelligence agency considerations.

Some knowledgeable observers may argue that the deaths of Leo Ryan, the media members and over 900 American residents of Jonestown may be the price we had to pay to keep control of Guyana. Sort of a "that's war, folks; that's the way it is" attitude. But what if Guyana falls anyway, and soon? That spectre was raised in a news article from London and published in the San Francisco Chronicle on December 9, 1979, "Guyana May Be the Next to Fall" (Exhibit E).

That article detailed the desperate economic plight of the Guyanese people and their growing opposition, now estimated at 75 to 80 percent, to the Burnham government. It also discussed the use of violence by another U.S. based pseudo-religious group. This group, "The House of Israel", appears to be the strong-arm successor to the People's Temple in support of Burnham. If the tragedy at Jonestown

was in fact allowed to happen to protect the secrecy of our intelligence operations in Guyana, the ultimate tragedy when Guyana falls will be that it was in vain.

I submit that our government policy in the under-developed countries in the Carribean is fatally flawed if it is based solely on the protection of U.S. commercial interests. We must be more supportive to the native economies in the Carribean if we are to maintain our sphere of influence against Cuba and Russia.

Grenada, a small island nation near Guyana, has already been taken into the Communist sphere of influence, despite our support for the government of Sir Eric Gairy, which fell in March, 1979. It is of interest to note that Gairy and Jim Jones were close enough for Gairy to visit Jones at the Peoples Temple in San Francisco prior to Jones' departure to Guyana. A photograph of the two together appears in a book "The Suicide Cult" written by an San Francisco Chronicle reporter, Ron Javers.

It has been reported that Jim Jones had planned to escape to Grenada with a select group of supporters following the mass murders in Jonestown. Jones did not intend to die in Jonestown. No paraffin tests were ever made on his hands to determine if he had fired a gun. It is now known that more than one million dollars of Peoples' Temple money was deposited in a Grenada bank. It should also be noted here that the pathology report by the Guyanese coroner showed that a high percentage of the victims examined were injected in the back with the poison. The proof was the blisters on the backs at the point of injection. We also know that an undetermined number of the Jonestown

residents showed up in Grenada following the Jonestown tragedy.

My reason for going beyond a discussion of the recommendations by the State Department is that the fault may be with Government policy rather than with the day-to-day conduct of State Department employees. When a tragedy of this magnitude occurs, we should do more, much more, than be content with a surface examination of individual conduct.

I realize that many of the matters I have discussed today are beyond the purview of this subcommittee, or of any standing committee of the Congress. For that reason, I ask now for the formation of a Special House Committee with full power to investigate all aspects of the Jonestown tragedy, including its impact on our foreign policy and our relations with neighboring nations in the Caribbean.

Some of the questions to be addressed by such a Select Committee would include the following:

1. Is it State Department policy to make protection of American commercial interests abroad its top priority at the expense of the safety of American citizens?

2. To what extent is the CIA used to promote and protect American commercial interests abroad, in addition to its normal functions of gathering intelligence? Does such protection result in the creation of animosity toward our country by citizens of these nations?

3. Did our government use Jones and the Peoples Temple to support the Burnham government? If so, was the purpose to protect the commercial export of raw materials such as bauxite and manganese?

4. Were members of our intelligence agencies serving in key positions in our Embassy in Guyana and in the State Department in Washington, D.C., and were they directed by our government to use those positions to control State Department conduct regarding complaints against the Peoples Temple?

5. Did our government knowingly acquiesce in the intolerable conditions of bondage at Jonestown in order to maintain control of the Guyanese government?

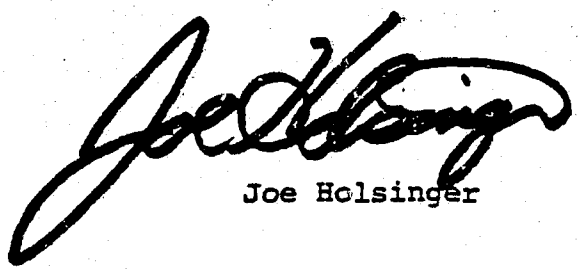
6. Was our government, through its intelligence operation, fully aware of the arms in Jonestown and the potential for violence there? If so, why did it fail to insist on armed protection by the Guyanese government for the Ryan mission? Was Leo Ryan set up for murder?

7. Did a member of the CIA, who was also a State Department official, go back into Jonestown after the killings at Port Kaituma and witness the mass murder/suicide scene there? If so, why?

8. Who killed Jim Jones and why?

9. Has the Administration used "National Security" as an excuse to cover up the monumental error of withholding vital information from Leo Ryan concerning Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple in Jonestown, an error that led directly to the tragedy?

I thank you for the opportunity to present this statement in an open hearing before this committee. My personal feelings about the tragic death of my good friend, Leo Ryan, are obvious. He is gone, but I believe that we should now proceed to examine fully the causes of this tragedy and to ensure that the errors leading to it are corrected for the good of our nation.



Joe Holsinger

Peninsula

Weather

Fair and cool through Thursday. Local freeze tonight. Highs in the 50s. Winds northwest 10 to 20 mph. (More weather information on Page 32)

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SAN MATEO TIMES AND D
THE ADVANCE

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12/6/78

Ryan's Calls to State Department

'Somehow the Word Would Get to Peoples Temple'

By JOHN HORGAN
and
RICK SULLIVAN

Prior to the Nov. 18 suicide-murder of more than 900 persons in the Guyana settlement of the Rev. Jim Jones, the Peoples Temple possessed a sophisticated intelligence network which permitted the sect to obtain sensitive information rapidly from a number of government agencies, including the U.S. State Department.

According to Joe Holsinger, administrative aide to the late Rep. Leo Ryan, D-San Mateo, as soon as Ryan's office would make in inquiry of the State Department or provide data to that agency on Peoples Temple, letters would be forthcoming from cult members here in the Bay Area urging that Ryan desist in his efforts to probe the church's affairs.

"We began to think there might be a connection, where as soon as we would contact the State Department, somehow the word would get to Peoples Temple," said Holsinger.

"We called it a Pavlovian reaction," he said.

Did that odd circumstance indicate a possible leak inside the State Department itself before Ryan's journey to South America?

Said Holsinger, "I don't think I'd call it a leak. It could have been someone using pretty stupid. It could have been just incompetence. We figured that

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whoever was down there (in the U.S. embassy in Guyana) and viewing the reports, felt there was nothing wrong and that was part of the problem. We didn't know whether it was incompetence or what it was. But Leo was going down there to find out."

Holsinger's comments about the State Department's seeming lack of security involving information about Peoples Temple fit a general pattern which has come to light since the Nov. 18 deaths and the murders of Ryan and four other people at the Port Kaituma airport in Guyana.

Law enforcement officials in Los Angeles have revealed that Peoples Temple operatives in that city knew about the secret address of two cult defectors who have been cooperating with investigators there.

One deputy district attorney in Los Angeles expressed amazement at finding the confidential address at a real estate office linked to Peoples Temple. The address was found during a search of the office, a search which also turned up about 200 rounds of ammunition, bomb-making plans, and a dummy time-bomb.

"We were amazed to find that address there because we thought it was known only to law enforcement," said Lee Cogan.

Additionally, the FBI has expressed a desire to question Tim Carter, 30, the former Burlingame man who was one of Jones' key assistants in Guyana.

Carter has said he came back to the Bay Area last month to infiltrate those connected with Ryan's trip in an attempt to gain information about the planned fact-finding mission to Jonestown.

Carter, along with Michael Carter, 20, his brother,

(Times Photo)

Joe Holsinger

and Michael Prokes, 31, are being kept under house arrest in Georgetown.

Deborah Layton Blakey, sister of Larry Layton who has been charged in the deaths of Ryan and the others at Port Kaituma, has stated that government officials in Guyana had been compromised by Jones.

A temple defector, Mrs. Blakey has said she was part of a temple delegation which made daily visits to the Russian embassy in Georgetown to negotiate the transfer of the settlement to the Soviet Union.

She has said that U.S. officials at the American embassy in Georgetown were "extremely close" to Jones. She has said that one of them, Richard McCoy, had told her not to take her assertions of oppression and possible mass suicide to the press.

After the warning from McCoy, she has said, she got a letter that referred to her conversation with him which threatened her life if she took her complaints to the press. She has said the letter was apparently from Jones.

Holsinger said Ryan was aware that there were weapons inside Jonestown. "We knew there were armed guards around there," he said.

Holsinger said Ryan's office, which had been com-

(See Page 2, Column 1)

SAN MATEO TIMES 12/6/78

EXHIBIT A

Somehow the Word Got to Peoples Temple

(Continued from Page 1)

piling information on Peoples Temple for more than a year before the congressman's trip, had turned over to the State Department copies of virtually everything which had been turned up in the investigation here.

That included information on Jones' suicide ritual, reports of gun-running and other matters.

"It was not the State Department warning Leo of any danger," said Holsinger. "It was Leo warning the State Department. Only they didn't listen. We sent them copies of our reports. We sent them what we had. We asked for further investigation. But they apparently preferred to support and confirm their own field reports from Guyana. If they had sent their own investigators from Washington, they would have found enough to have prevented this tragedy." State Department officials have said they did try to warn Ryan of the existence of weapons in Jonestown.

One problem that Ryan's office had, said Holsinger, was that it was difficult to determine what to believe about all of the dire allegations being made about Jones, Peoples Temple, Jonestown, etc. in the months before Ryan's trip.

"We were starting to believe that there was a great deal of merit to what these people were saying," said Holsinger, referring to many of the relatives of Peoples Temple members here in the Bay Area. "We weren't sure how much was emotional. We weren't sure how far it went."

Holsinger said he personally advised Ryan to be extremely wary of the Jonestown venture. "I advised him that if the reports turned out to be even half true, the possibility for physical intimidation existed. I thought they might try to provoke a fight. When it came down to the matter of guns, of taking no protection, Leo pointed out, and I think rightly so, that Mark Lane was claiming armed CIA invasion under the guise of some government agency to disrupt Jonestown. Leo said if we took any guns in there at all they'd use that to claim provocation and say we started it."

Although, said Holsinger, Ryan did not originally intend to take the media along with him, he was glad he did so as he prepared to leave for South America.

"Leo said they (the press) were the best protection he could have. They were better than guns. I found out later that the media felt kind of afraid but they felt that Leo was their best protection. We didn't understand the potential. We knew these people were possibly very psychotic or whatever. We were concerned. But Leo said you can't give in to fear. He said we've got to get the job done and no one else will do it."

In an interview with The Times, Holsinger addressed a range of other issues relating to Ryan's trip and Peoples Temple.

Here are the questions and Holsinger's responses:

When did your office receive its first inquiry about Peoples Temple from a concerned person?

It was in the spring of 1977. A request to meet with Leo came from Sam Houston of San Bruno. He was a wire service photographer. He told us his son, Robert, had been involved with Peoples Temple. According to his parents, he had planned to leave the temple. The next night, he was found dead. His two daughters had been taken to Guyana and the grandparents were worried.

When was the first time Ryan or someone in Ryan's office contacted the State Department about the Peoples Temple affair?

I'm not sure. There was a December 1977 letter to Secretary Vance on the (Tim) Stoen case. We probably first contacted the State Department in the summer of 1977. But I can't remember.

Did you or anyone else in the Ryan office contact the State Department either personally or on the phone? Or did you do it all by letter?

I talked personally with some people I don't want to identify. They said they were basing their opinions on the basis of reports from one or two field men. Richard McCoy was the principal one.

Are we correct in saying that the State Department did not mention danger per se in Jonestown?

No. What they said was ... if any trouble erupted, they were not in a position to provide any protection (for Ryan and his party).

What about the concept of international circumstances resulting from Leo's trip? Did the State Department ever allude to, even vaguely, the possibility of unfavorable international consequences?

That seemed to be a general thread. It wasn't that so much as they said this was an independent country. They felt they were guests in that country and that they had no powers in that country. The roots of it (this attitude), in my opinion, were in the memories of the Chile disaster. Our administration had a general policy of avoiding direct intervention in Latin and South America. Nobody knew enough to make this (Jonestown) the exception.

Did you ever get the impression that the State Department did not want you to go down there?

Yes.

Can you elaborate on that?

For example, when Leo asked that someone from the State Department's legal aid office go with him, they said everyone was too busy. The general impression was that this was something they weren't anxious to see happen. They were satisfied that things were benign. They almost seemed to indicate that this was some kind of a trouble-making sort of thing. They didn't seem concerned at all about the people who were down there.

What could the State Department have gained by not giving Ryan or Ryan's office a full briefing on everything they may have known?

I think they did as far as they knew. They gave him a briefing but the State Department file seemed to indicate that there was nothing wrong.

Has it occurred to you that the State Department actually withheld information it had on Jonestown because of a fear that Ryan might take that information to the media?

We have no such indication.

If not, how can it be explained that the CIA reported the ambush accurately to embassy officials at Georgetown within an hour of the event at the Port Kaituma airport and that the State Department transferred John Burke from a highly sensitive post in Thailand to remote Guyana last December?

My reaction is that if there was a CIA report, then one of Guyana crew members may have been their source. That's possible. I just don't know otherwise. As far as Burke is concerned, I know nothing about his career. I can't answer that question. I don't know.

At Ryan family spokesman George Corey's press conference on Nov. 19, he said the first word you got that there might be a problem was a State Department phone call to you in which the caller said there was an unconfirmed CIA report (on the ambush).

That's not what I said. I had two calls. I had been calling the State Department all day because I was nervous. I called at 3 o'clock California time. Then I got a call at 4 o'clock on this unconfirmed report. Fifteen minutes later, I got a call from someone in the White House. Rather than four people dead, the caller said five were dead and one of them was Leo Ryan. There were two separate calls. I do not recall having ever said anything about the CIA. That may have been an interpretation by someone else.

Was Ryan aware that even the act of leading people out of Jonestown, with or without journalists, could trigger a mass suicide?

No.

Was that discussed before the trip?

No. We had talked about that as sort of an act of faith, a tying together, a ritual he (Jones) went through for psychological effect. We never had any idea that it was more than a psychological trick.

Was Ryan or Ryan's office aware that Jones' health was apparently seriously impaired and that he was close to death?

We had heard those reports coming out. The concerned relatives told us it was a bunch of hogwash.

Did the State Department ever suggest postponing the trip to see if Jones would die a natural death?

No. They never suggested that. I don't think anyone was really believing it. There was so much showmanship going on that you couldn't separate fact from fancy.

Did you and Leo ever discuss the possibility of the entire settlement moving en masse to the Soviet Union or Cuba or some other communist country?

That was Mark Lane's comment. We knew of the threat. We laughed at it. Well, not so much laughed, we kind of scorned it. We knew what treatment they would get there, after all of Jones' talk of freedom and this type of thing. He wouldn't like the kind of freedom he would find in Cuba or the Soviet Union.

Did Ryan ever mention the possibility that there might be some foreign involvement in what was happening in Jonestown late this year, particularly with the appearance of Mark Lane so suddenly?

It was really (Charles) Garry who introduced Mark Lane to Jones. They were long-time friends, according to Garry. I guess they felt they needed a little public relations help to fend off this growing pressure that Leo was mounting.

When you received Mark Lane's letter of Nov. 6, did you and Leo ever discuss it?

Oh, yes. We were together all the time. I was with him when he sat down and marked up Lane's letter and prepared his reply.

One of the last lines in Lane's letter bears on something we talked about earlier, about "further persecution of Peoples Temple might very well result in the creation of a most embarrassing situation for the U.S. government."?

Leo knew it was a public relations battle. He said he didn't think even Jones would back that. He said he (Lane) was threatening something that he really didn't mean to threaten.

Do you believe that it could have been an embarrassing situation for the U.S. government?

I don't think it would have been. I think it would have been a bizarre incident. I don't think Russia was ready to take them. I have my doubts whether Russia would have let them in.

How about Cuba?

Don't know. I don't know if they had any contact with Cuba. They have enough problems in those countries without this. I really think this was a ploy to push away the pressure. But I'm not certain about that. It's my opinion.

Did you and Ryan ever discuss, particularly when you were talking about danger inside Jonestown, the possibility that the CIA may have had a person inside Jonestown?

We never discussed that. We were never thinking in those terms at all.

Did the State Department ever raise that issue?

No. We hear so many spook stories we don't know what to believe.

Why do you think Ryan and his group were detained so long in Georgetown?

They were trying to stall. The embassy was asleep, if nothing worse.

What do you know about the dialogue between Ambassador Burke and Ryan during the period in Georgetown?

From what I understand, the ambassador simply didn't believe any of this.

Did the ambassador ever try to discourage Leo from going to Jonestown?

In effect, he was not getting any cooperation. He was being stymied. The State Department was disinclined to move.

Did you get the impression that the ambassador was trying to discourage Ryan or anyone else from going to Jonestown?

I don't know about that. I know he was discouraging Leo's efforts.

'Unconcerned About American Citizens'

McCloskey Slams State Department

By RICK SULLIVAN

A congressional investigation of the Jonestown massacre is likely to show that the U.S. State Department was more concerned with promoting exportation of natural resources from Guyana than exposing injustices within Peoples Temple or protecting Americans visiting that country, Rep. Paul McCloskey told The Times Thursday.

The Republican congressman from Menlo Park who had worked with his slain colleague, Rep. Leo J. Ryan, for State Department intervention in the Jonestown commune, stated:

"I think an investigation will bring out that the Guyanese government had a relationship with (the Rev. Jim) Jones and that the U.S. Embassy (in Georgetown) knew about it, accepted it and didn't try to intrude.

"Based on my dealings with the State Department, I think it is apparent that the department was more concerned with getting along with the Guyanese . . . and promoting exports from that country than it was in protecting U.S. citizens."

The most important mineral resources in Guyana are bauxite and manganese. Gold and diamonds also are mined. Bauxite is the principal source of aluminum.

Joe Holsinger, Ryan's administrative aide, has told The Times the State Department implicitly discouraged the congressman's fact-finding mission to the Jonestown settlement.

"They (State Department officials) were satisfied that things were benign. They almost seemed to indicate that this (mission) was some kind of a trouble-making thing. They didn't seem concerned at all about the people down there," Holsinger has stated.

McCloskey said it is the "inherent mission" of all U.S. embassies, as representatives of the president, to place more emphasis on maintaining an amiable relationship with a host country and promoting exports than looking after the interests of citizens abroad.

He said it is his hope that the investigation will result in an order by the House International Relations Committee that embassies take a "stronger position" on the well-being of Americans.

The committee that has taken over Ryan's probe of Peoples Temple already has plunged into a far-reaching inquiry that is covering the past, present and future of the cult, including its members, its money and relations with U.S. and Guyanese officials.

The committee is chaired by Rep. Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis.

McCloskey said he has been advised by members of the committee that the investigation is centering on several key areas:

- Why the State Department did not take more vigorous action on the Jonestown commune.
- The relationship between the U.S. Embassy in Guyana and the cult.
- What the State Department knew or should have known about the violent conditions at Jonestown.
- The inadequacy of the information the State Department gave Ryan before his visit.
- Whether funds collected from church bank accounts scattered throughout the world should be used for reimbursement of federal expenses and those incurred by relatives of the more than 900 cultists who died Nov. 18 at the Jonestown camp.

(Times Photo)

Paul McCloskey

The congressman revealed that he and Ryan had tried for more than a year to move the State Department from its steadfast position of non-interference in Guyanese affairs and that he became just as frustrated as his colleague.

He said that he, like Ryan, received a barrage of mail from Peoples Temple supporters critical of his efforts whenever he made inquiries of the State Department.

His efforts alone, he said, "attracted" 700 letters, including 10 from residents of San Mateo County — two from Redwood City, one from San Mateo and seven from East Palo Alto.

Local residents who wrote McCloskey included Viola Kelly and Essie Roach of Redwood City, Margaret Elizey of San Mateo; and Pauline Thornton, Mary Murphy, Mary Lendo, Bessie Lee Webster, Roxie Mae Jones, Dorothy Elizey, Ida Dorsey, all of East Palo Alto.

McCloskey said that he plans to contact personally several of these letter writers next week to discuss generally, past affairs of the church and specifically to determine if any of the cultists have received death threats.

The congressman said that he was drawn into the church controversy more than a year ago when temple defectors Tim and Grace Stoen had asked him for help in regaining the custody of their son who, they said, was being held by Jones in Guyana.

McCloskey disclosed that he wrote a letter to the State Department asking that it intervene in the matter, but was advised that Ryan also was looking into the case and, in fact, had planned a trip to Guyana in December of 1977.

That trip, according to McCloskey, was postponed because of pressing congressional affairs.

McCloskey said that he continued to press for State Department action on the Stoen case, but was advised firmly in March of this year by Assistant Secretary of State Douglas Bennett that the case was being litigated in Guyana and that the State

(See Page 3, Column 1)

McCloskey Rips State Department

(Continued From Page 1)

Department could not interfere with the procedure down there.

"I, like Congressman Ryan, kept insisting that the embassy (in Georgetown) had an obligation to look into the matter."

McCloskey said that Ryan had invited him to join the delegation to Jonestown, but he said he had to decline because arrangements already had been made for him to participate in a South African fact-finding mission.

"Clearly, as far as I was concerned, Jones had no right to hold the Stoen boy in Guyana and the State Department had an obligation to intervene on behalf of that child," said McCloskey.

"But it was clear that the government didn't want to ruffle the feathers in Guyana."

SAN MATEO TIMES 12/8/78

EXHIBIT B

Race Entries (See Sports)/Today's Results (See Col. 6)

Peninsula Weather

Mostly fair through Saturday with hazy sunshine and cold nights. Highs in the 60s with light winds. (More weather information on Page 14)

The Times

San Mateo County's Daily Newspaper

Stocks Up; Closing NYSE, Amex Prices

(See Pages 36, 37)

Vol. 79 No. 299 ★★★★ SAN MATEO, CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1979 348-4321 15c PER COPY

CIA agent witnessed Jonestown mass suicide

By RICK SULLIVAN
and
KAREN PETTERSON
Times Staff Writers

An agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency traveled to the Guyanese jungle colony of Jonestown immediately following the assassination of Rep. Leo J. Ryan and witnessed the murder/suicide ritual orchestrated by the maniacal Rev. Jim Jones, The Times has learned.

Government sources have confirmed that a CIA agent assigned to the U.S. embassy in the Guyanese capital arrived at the commune as Peoples Temple members collapsed and died of the lethal cyanide/salt drink concoction.

State Department officials acknowledge that a CIA agent was dispatched to Jonestown within minutes of the airstrip assault. However, they will not disclose how the agent got there, his specific assignment or his identity.

But The Times has learned that the FBI has a tape recording recovered from the agricultural commune that apparently places Richard Dwyer, deputy chief of the U.S. embassy, inside Jonestown while more than 900 Americans died.

As second in command at the embassy, Dwyer reportedly was the CIA agent in charge of all intelligence activities in Guyana.

Dwyer took charge of the San Mateo congressman's fact-finding party upon their arrival in Georgetown, briefed the party on Jonestown activities, arranged for planes to transport the group to and from the jungle colony, and escorted the group to the commune.

The deputy chief was at the Port Kaituma airstrip Nov. 18, 1979, when Peoples Temple assassins opened fire, killing Ryan, three newsmen and a temple defector. Dwyer was one of 10 persons injured in the attack. He was wounded slightly in the leg.

A source confides that Dwyer left those who had survived the ambush sometime after the shooting, went back to Jonestown and then returned to the group.

Millbrae investigator Joseph Mazor, who has been delving into Peoples Temple activities for three years, says the tape recording held by the FBI contains a statement about Dwyer by Jones during the suicides.

Mazor quotes Jones on the tape as shouting repeatedly over the din and confusion of the ghastly death ritual, "Get Dwyer out of here! Get Dwyer out of here."

Mazor is an expert in analyzing voices on tapes. He has served as a consultant in this field to various law enforcement agencies.

Mazor would not reveal under what conditions he listened to the tape.

FBI agents in San Francisco and George R. Berdes, staff consultant for the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and director of the investigation of the Ryan assassination, independently confirm that federal authorities have a tape on which Jones says, "Get Dwyer out of here."

Berdes, however, does acknowledge that much of the tape recording is inaudible and confusing, mixed with loud music and screaming in the background.

Although Berdes and FBI agents agree that the "Dwyer" Jones refers to is, indeed, the deputy embassy chief, they do not believe Dwyer was actually at the compound.

Dwyer, reached today by The Times at the U.S. Embassy in Guyana, said he knew of the existence of the tape but denied that he returned to Jonestown after the airstrip ambush.

"Jones was obviously murdered

(See Page 2, Column 1)

EXHIBIT C

Government confirms CIA witness to Jonestown suicides

(Continued from Page 1)

he said, "I was shot, you know."

Dwyer said that he had made arrangements with Jones to stay overnight at the compound after Ryan's party was to have left Nov. 18 to await a plane the following day to take Peoples Temple defectors back to Georgetown.

He (Jones) apparently thought that I was still there (at the compound) when he made his comment."

The deputy embassy chief said he spent the night with the survivors at the Port Kaituma airstrip and did not leave until around 5 p.m. Nov. 19, when the wounded were transported to the Guyanese capital.

In his two-inch thick investigative report presented to the 34-member Committee on Foreign Affairs last May, Brooks makes no reference to the portion of the tape on Dwyer. And he admits that his staff of investigators never questioned Dwyer about the Jones comment.

The FBI has not questioned Dwyer either. The deputy chief remains today at the embassy in Guyana, and government officials there refuse to allow FBI agents into the country.

Brooks says that at the time his investigators interviewed Dwyer, they were not aware of the existence of the tape. Later, when the tape was given to him, he says he listened to it and concluded that Jones was mistaken.

"We thought it (questioning Dwyer again) would be pointless," says Brooks. "I think what happened was that Jones mistook someone else for Dwyer (who had visited the commune several times before the massacre). He (Jones) was under extreme pressure ... he only thought he saw Dwyer."

FBI agents proffered the same theory ... that Jones was delirious and that Dwyer could not have been present at the camp.

Brooks argues that there is "credible evidence" that Dwyer stayed with the survivors after the airstrip shooting and spent the night with them.

But ambush survivors, including Ryan's aide Jackie Speier, are not convinced that Dwyer could not have somehow returned to Jonestown.

Miss Speier, who was wounded in the attack, said that Dwyer's leg injuries were not debilitating, that he was able to walk with little difficulty and, in fact, left the group on several occasions.

Another survivor, who asked not to be named, recalls that Dwyer left "two or three times" after the airstrip shooting, saying he would attempt to make radio contact with the embassy.

"I would say," the survivor offers, "that Dwyer was gone more than he was there with us."

The survivor notes that there was a truck at Port Kaituma, but cannot remember if Dwyer used it. The Jonestown camp is approximately four miles from the airstrip.

Miss Speier also tells of several incidents which she claims raise questions about Dwyer and his role in Jonestown.

She explains that when embassy officials briefed the Ryan party on activities at the colony, a slide show was presented and conducted by Dwyer. One slide, she recalls, showed a smiling Dwyer in Jonestown with his arms around Jim Jones and his wife, Marceline.

"It was like a family photo, and I remember thinking how strange it seemed that a professional U.S. embassy official should be acting this way."

The former Ryan aide also says she still is annoyed at the disappearance of tape recorders and tapes belonging to her and Ryan.

Miss Speier says that Ryan and she taped and took notes of interviews they conducted with temple members after they were allowed into the commune by Jones. The recorder, the tapes and the notes were placed in a briefcase, also containing $1,000 in cash and other documents.

When Ryan and his party departed Jonestown for the airstrip, the congressman, Miss Speier recalls, gave the briefcase to Dwyer.

Miss Speier says that when the briefcase was later returned to her, the tapes, the notes and the recorders were missing. The cash and other papers remained enclosed.

Dwyer counters Ms. Speier's account, claiming Ryan never gave him the briefcase, but that he picked it up off the airstrip after the ambush.

"I don't recall seeing any tapes in the case, but I think I remember seeing a small recorder – I'm not 100 percent sure.

"I suspect that someone got to the briefcase very quickly. The only time it was out of my sight is when I helped load the wounded on the plane," says Dwyer.

The deputy embassy chief said he gave the briefcase to Jim Schollaert, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, when he returned to Georgetown.

FBI agents, Miss Speier says, questioned her twice when she returned to the United States.

"All they wanted to know about was the tape recorders and the tapes."

The Justice Department will not confirm if they have located the tapes or if they have custody of them.

State Department sources acknowledge that a CIA agent did travel to Jonestown immediately following the airstrip assault, but they emphatically deny that the agent was Dwyer.

Department sources instead say that an agent, whom they would not identify, was dispatched from inside the U.S. embassy in Georgetown to the jungle commune, but only after word was received from the airstrip that Ryan and others had been murdered."

That word came within minutes of the ambush, and sources claim it was one of the airplane pilots hired by embassy officials who radioed the information.

Statements linking U.S. embassy officials with the Peoples Temple were made as early as May 1978, when a temple defector took her story to government officials.

Debbie Blakey, who deserted the temple commune, charged that embassy officials in Georgetown were "extremely close" to Jones. She said that the one embassy officer, Richard McCoy, who is currently assigned to the Guyana desk at the State Department, warned her not to take her assertions of oppression and possible mass suicide in Jonestown to the press.

A few days after that warning, she said, she received a letter, apparently from Jones, that referred to conversation with McCoy and threatened her life if she took complaints to the press.

Mrs. Blakey is the sister of cult member Larry Layton, the only person facing charges stemming from the airstrip massacre. Layton was recently ordered to stand trial in Guyana on murder and conspiracy charges.

Allegations of a close alliance between U.S. officials and temple members were also made by Mazor, who made several trips to the jungle outpost. His clients were local parents of temple members.

He also says he took warnings to the embassy on the activities inside Jonestown, specifically that there were weapons in the camp.

Mazor contends that Dwyer gave a copy of his (Mazor's) report to temple members during a cocktail party at the temple's Georgetown house.

"I know he did it because (temple member) Tim Carter called me from Georgetown and read me the report — my report to the consul general referring to the guns and a lot of other things," Mazor reports.

Carter, a top Jones aide, escaped from the jungle massacre scene and is now living in Idaho.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 16, 1978

Mr. Shewin Harris
3269 Marlene Drive
Lafayette, California 94549

Dear Mr. Harris:

On behalf of Secretary Vance, I want to thank you for your communication concerning the situation at the People's Agricultural Temple in Guyana.

As part of the traditional and internationally sanctioned protection services, officers of the American Embassy in Georgetown, Guyana, periodically visit the People's Agricultural Temple located at Jonestown, Guyana. These officers have been free to move about the grounds and speak privately to any individuals, including persons who were believed by their family and friends to be held there against their will. It is the opinion of these officers, reinforced by conversations with local officials who deal with the People's Temple, that it is improbable anyone is being held in bondage. In general, the people appear healthy, adequately fed and housed, and satisfied with their lives on what is a large farm. Many do hard, physical labor, but there is no evidence of persons being forced to work beyond their capacity or against their will.

Should you have a specific individual about whom you want information, please provide the name of the person and the person's date and place of birth to the Office of Special Consular Services, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. During the next visit to the People's Temple by an officer of the American Embassy, that officer will attempt to speak privately with the individual in question, convey your concern, and report to you.

Sincerely,

Hodding Carter III
Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs and
Department Spokesman

EXHIBIT D

(1)

Secretary of State
U.S. Government
Wash. D.C.

Dear Sir -

You have recently received information and facts concerning the activities of a "Rev" Jim Jones in Guyana South America -

My daughter Diane is one of those trapped at his Jungle encampment and is being subjected to a brutalizing program of mind control and repression designed to make her an active participant in his ~~program~~ plans - I sincerely believe her life to be in danger as well as the lives of the over 1000 americans reportedly there -

Jones apparently espouses a program of marxism, atheism hatred of the United States destruction of family ties & plain depravity - He apparently has dropped all guise of being a ~~non~~ religious organization and has emerged as a political ~~force~~ entity in Guyana & alternately the Caribbean -

I am appealing to you as ~~Star~~ Secretary of State to instruct our Embassy officials in Guyana to bring pressure to bear on Forbes Burnham (Prime Minister) so that he will act to cause Jones to halt ~~the~~ human Rights abuses directed against my daughter and others and further to send my daughter and others like her home.

I am further requesting co-operation from the State Dept in seeing that mail we send our ~~brothers~~ family members are delivered directly into their hands and that they are free to read and respond in complete privacy and safety - If the mail could be sent by diplomatic pouch and delivered to read in the privacy of the ~~Embassy~~ U.S. Embassy then relatives here might stand a chance of counteracting Jones's ~~message~~ vicious mind control tactics -

The situation is all the more dangerous and delicate in that Jones in a letter to Congressmen + Senators on March 14, 1978 threatened that they were "devoted to a decision that it is better even to die"

(3)

than to suffer "bureaucratic hassles".
~~This ruthless man must be stopped—~~
~~It is for this reason that~~ I believe the
key man in this sad drama to be
Forbes Burnham. ~~The~~ Have sent them a
letter appeal—
I am begging you to act at once in
this matter, not only in our national
interest but in the human rights interest
and the interest of the heartbroken relatives
who, like myself, find themselves unwilling pawns
in this bizarre game ~~Jim~~ Jones has
initiated— My daughter, Dear, must
~~come home again safely~~—

Sincerely Respectfully

Stern Hauser